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EDITORIAL

SHERLOCK NO!

Our colonial beginnings as a University must be traced to the forties. What we have now is largely the result of the Irvine Committee of 1944, a West Indian offshoot of the Asquith Commission appointed to look into the conditions and possibilities of higher education in the colonies. The committee was composed of British and W.I. intellectuals including the present Vice-Chancellor, Sir Philip Sherlock.

The decision to create a colonial model of a British provincial university in administrative structure, in course and degree structure, in residence pattern and outlook has straightjacketed the institution's operation in the region. (1) Needless to say, our present University structure with all its symbols of Irvine and Taylor, why not Garvey & Padmore, is not suited to the Caribbean. What students/lecturers and administrators should be concerned with is changing this anomaly by proposing alternatives.

Any change of this nature means a confrontation with W.I. governments especially the Jamaican government which has spoken of its desire to establish a University of Jamaica. This government has forced the Administration into anticipating its moves, hence the several warnings of the latter given to certain lecturers.

We, therefore, need alongside consideration of change in the University structure also radical change in the society.

Sir Philip Sherlock talked student leaders into calling off a protest against the Queen and Prince Philip in 1965. He told them it was unwise to embarrass their benefactors. This couldn't happen again. He pretended at that time to identify with the students. Now we see him as some of us unmistakably did then - A FOREIGNER TO OUR ASPIRATIONS INTENT ON BARTERING US ON THE POLITICAL MARKET. Firstly, he was invited to attend a discussion on the banning of Black People's literature, he not only refused but said he knew of no such ban. Secondly, in the Daily Gleaner of Oct 17 he says this about Dr. Rodney: ----- "I told the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet that I had no grounds for any action by the University against Dr. Rodney. This remains so. Dr. Rodney remains a member of the staff of the U.W.I.

I would like to emphasize that the University has not dismissed Dr. Rodney. There is no ground whatever for any

proposal that he should be dismissed. He remains a member of the staff of the University of the West Indies." Sherlock then makes a right about turn. On November 9 Dr. Rodney was fired by the Finance & General Purposes Committee. A few days after, another Guyanese lecturer, Dr. C. Y. Thomas, an economist, was asked to appear before a Disciplinary Committee. No one in the Administration had made a statement explaining these subversive acts. Now we hear that Ken Post, a lecturer in the Dept. of Govt. has been given the choice either to leave of his own accord or be deported. Of course this sounding is being done by the Government decoys--University Officials. What is a University in the West Indies when the administrators are operating the way politicians want them to?

Philip Sherlock, the Vice-Chancellor is a scandal to any institution of learning so are they all who timidly purge the University under political pressure.

PRIME MINISTER SHEARER

Whenever one of the politicians speak two reactions occur. We wonder, firstly, what new form has the oppression taken. Secondly, there is the repetition of slogans which mean nothing to us.

The D.M. in addressing his Party Conference speaks of his Party's stand on South Africa, Nigeria, Vietnam, Colonialism and Human Rights. Dr Neville Gallimore addressed a U.N. gathering on the Economics of Apartheid in South Africa-Everywhere but here, they talk about, where they can't face the Stand taken on them by us-The Youth!

128 people banned by the P.N.P. and 91 by the J.L.P. Impressive record, Mr Shearer. Then, all he can think of saying about Marcus Garvey is that the Opposition leader appeared in Court against him. Another example of how he drags Garvey's name in his political dung-heap.

Yes, Government is assuming enormous powers through legislation. It seems that this is all Parliament meets for nowadays. There is the Genocide Law and the present Commonwealth Citizen's Bill to screw us completely. The police and military raids continue their terrorism with word of mouth warnings to many.

NOTES

TRAVELLING THEATRE

'The African Evening' in Mary Seacole with readings by Edward Braithwaite, African fashions, music and poetry was well-received. The community

MUST now benefit from this show in the form of a Travelling Theatre. Much credit must be given to Jackie Vernon, Hall Chairman, and the Committee for organising this. There were three points of interest about the evening. One a 'Black Writers' Conference occurred that evening especially in the literary section. Secondly middle-class girls doing something they would not have considered two months ago. Thirdly the uneasy laughter during Braithwaite's reading.

Frantz Fanon in an article - West Indians & Africans touched on a vital point which came to mind on two occasions - during the nervous titter at the African evening and when Pat Rodney spoke about the Guyanese girls on campus who avoided her. Fanon wrote - "It is true that in the W.I., irony is a mechanism of defense against neurosis. A W.I. in particular an intellectual who is no longer on the level of irony, discovers his Negritude. Thus while in Europe irony protects against the existential anguish, in Martinique it protects against the awareness of Negritude." (For Fanon Negritude is a phase not an end).

It can be seen that a study of irony in the W.I. is crucial for the sociology of this region. Aggressiveness is almost always cushioned by irony."

SECONDARY SCHOOLS: We are the youth in the high schools and the heads of several refuse us access to ourselves. Read the poem - "Youth" - and learn why this is futile.

Rev. Claudius Henry: A large crowd heard Rev Henry speak at Jamaica Success Club - Wildman St, on an occasion which marked the 2nd Anniversary of his release from prison (24 Nov) - on a treason felony charge. Conscious! Marcus Garvey hymns. Pictures of Black Christ. Black Mary. Emperor Haile Selassie. Drums! Original chants - & Black Christmas. He spoke of Dr. Rodney's lectures on African History and Marcus Garvey and of his son Trevor whom they hanged. Details of prison perror - is not a nice place you know! An attempt was made to pass on a prison plan to his person. A cell-search followed with disappointed prison officials discovering that Rev Henry hadn't fallen fool to their folly.

Ras Dizzy: suffers 9 months in Babylon and by cutting off his 12 year old locks, suffers 12 more. Jah-son said certain black people in his area were used as a medium of the devil - throwing dirt on his paintings, dead animals in his yard and finally chopping his head. Couldn't hold out! - The molestors go unpunished! -

BLACK POWER RAID: THE SIX WHOM THEY HEADLINED IN THE PRESS APPEAR THIS MONTH IN COURT. HOW MANY MORE WILL THERE BE?

but the struggle will not wait until the re-education of the mass of the black people reaches an advanced stage.

In response to the demand for more black culture and history, the national bourgeoisie of the U.S.A. has adopted a technique different from that of their neo-colonialist puppets in the West Indies. Having that security which comes from the possession of capital, they feel confident in making certain concessions to black culture in their educational institutions and media of public communications. As always, they concede the lesser demand to maintain the total structure of white capitalist domination, hoping to siphon off young blacks into a preoccupation with African history and culture divorced from the raw reality of the American system as it operates on both the domestic and international front. That gambit must not work. Imagine the juicy contradictions-Rockefeller finances chair on African history from the profits of exploiting South African blacks and upholding apartheid! Black revolutionaries study African culture alongside of researchers into germ warfare against the Vietnamese people!!

We, blacks in the Americas have missed the opportunity when a more leisurely appraisal of our past might have been possible. It is nearly half a century since Garvey remarked that "the white world has always tried to rob and discredit us of our history," and in that period far too few blacks made the effort to enrich themselves and brothers by acquiring a knowledge of African history. In 1929, Norman E. Cameron, a black man from Guyana, wrote the first volume of THE EVOLUTION OF THE NEGRO, in which he sought to revive the pride and confidence of Africans in the New World by pointing to the achievements of African states in the period prior to the European advent; and the work of Richard Moore has been similar in content and purpose. Now the work of self-revaluation in terms of our African past is taking place within a milieu of social upheaval, and the mechanics of upheaval have first priority on the energy of black people.

AFRICAN CIVILISATIONS

Only after the above preliminary remarks, is it possible to engage in discussion on African history as such. It is the purpose of this paper to suggest that emphasis on the highlights of ancient African civilizations should be complemented by an examination of African

culture and history in the same pre-European period. Scholars interested in African history have exhibited a pre-occupation with the highly developed political state, which has led to the casual treatment of the smaller states and the so-called "stateless societies," where there is no politico-economic entity wider than the family. This means that the present written history of the continent does not touch on the lives of millions of Africans who lived outside of states such as Egypt, Kush, Ethiopia, Ghana, Benin, etc. Even within those kingdoms the historical accounts often concentrate narrowly on the behaviour of elite groups and dynasties; We need to portray the elements of African everyday life and to comprehend the culture of all Africans irrespective of whether they were resident in the empire of Mali or in an Ibo village. In reconstructing African civilizations, the concern is to indicate that African social life had meaning and value, and that the African past is one with which the black man in the Americas can identify with pride. With the same criteria in mind, it is worth noting the following aspects of African social behaviour: hospitality, the role and treatment of the aged, law and public order, and social tolerance.

Numerous reports attest to the hospitality of African communities. Within any village or chiefdom, the codes of hospitality and a spirit of charity prevented the extremes of poverty and abandonment which one finds in richer and supposedly more mature societies. The African extended-family was in itself an agency for mutual aid and welfare; and the family connections led to the clan, where a similar pattern unfolds. The common ancestor shared by all clan members is a very vague figure on the border-s between history and legend, many generations distant, but a clan brother is a brother. He was welcomed, housed, and fed if he turned up at the compound of another clan member whom he had never seen before. The greater the status of the individual, the greater his obligation to have an open house for all, although he did get something in return for the reciprocal exchange of gifts was a common practice. Africans approached their earliest European acquaintances in the same hospitable and charitable manner that was normal in dealings among themselves. They called the white men "honoured guests", they gave them protection and love, they plied them with gifts; and it took Africans some time to realize that Europeans worshipped strange gods called Money and Profit. African society did not prove immune to those gods, but right up to the present one finds comments on the warmth of African

hospitality, emerging from the whole social conscience and not just from unusually well-disposed members of the community.

Because of the extended-family system and the universal hospitality, the aged were fortunately free of the problems of sustenance. They played self-fulfilling and socially satisfying roles within their communities. While old age was a liability in a New World plantation and throughout the capitalist world, in Africa, advanced age brought honour, increased respect and authority. The gerontocratic bias of African society meant that a great deal of power and authority was based on seniority in age. An elder was learned and wise because he had had maximum exposure to life in that society, as well as to all of the formal education which was available. As a young man, he had spent several months in the "Bush School" where he had received instructions prior to initiation; later he had graduated from successive age-groups or through several levels of a fraternity, where secret knowledge was revealed at each stage; and finally an elder would himself be a teacher. In a state system, elders tutored the prospective ruler and advised the ruling king; while in "stateless societies" they were the sole repositories of historical, spiritual and legal knowledge. In both sets of situations they had to be informed and alert because of their responsibilities.

In the great empires of the Western Sudan, Berber and Arab visitors from North Africa never failed to be impressed by the security afforded to goods and persons, even when movement over long distances was involved. The movement of traders along the 'paths' in Akan country was equally safe, and these conditions existed in much more humble African societies. The Senegalese Djola, long resident in lineage groups in the Casamance region, were described by Mungo Park as 'barbarous', but he found that he could leave his personal possessions among the Djola for months on end without suffering any losses. This public order was maintained not by an extensive police force, but by the constraint of the community as a whole. Of course, crime did exist in the society, and it was dealt with by a complex code of customary laws, which in recent years have become the subject of scientific enquiry and scholarly treatises. The basic principle of justice was restitution—the object of the legal judgement being to help the wronged party rather than

-inflict punishment on the offender. It is significant that one hears of nothing resembling a jail within indigenous African society, nor is there any evidence of stocks, fetters and the like. European visitors to West Africa in the 15th and 16th centuries were struck by the mildness and humane nature of the laws. Capital punishment, for example, was rare, being completely absent from some societies.

The attitude of the law suggests an attempt to put into practice the concept of tolerance towards human frailty. Tolerance operated in a number of spheres, religion being the most important. Yoruba religion through Voodoo and Shango, has had a strong impact on the life of Africans in the Caribbean. One scholar who has delved deeply into Yoruba religion, has this to say: "I admire Yoruba paganism first and foremost for its tolerance. It is a religion which provides satisfaction for many different kinds of human temperament. Everyone can worship the divine forces in his own fashion, and there is no rivalry or prejudice between different cults. But there is more than religious tolerance, there is human tolerance. Here the cripples, albinos and other deformed persons have a special god to look after them. They occupy a special position at his shrine, and thus, people who elsewhere are laughed at, are here needed and respected." African traditional religions are by nature non-imperialistic. Unlike the universal revealed religions, they do not set out to show others light, so that there is no possibility of domination in this sphere. African systems of dynamic belief allowed Islam to exist peacefully for centuries, they allowed the first Christians to enter without demur, and above all the various African religions never waged the religious wars which were so much a part of the history of Europe. Even Christianity in Africa, as represented by the Ethiopian Coptic Church, took on a different and more tolerant aspect. Western Christians mocked the Ethiopian Coptic faith, largely because they despised its syncretisms and its coming to terms with the divergent elements of culture within Ethiopia. It is to be stressed that while some of the above considerations apply to African society today, they are to be cited in a much earlier historical context. They were noted by Europeans in the 15th century, and were obviously in operation long before then. In other words, while the citizens of Songhai, Ife, Kongo, Monomotapa were creating the conditions for living in large territorial states, other Africans were not steeped in darkness.

That, after all, is the great myth which we are still struggling to discard from the minds of our own brothers and sisters here in the Americas. Their fear is that the Africa which they left is one of primordial savagery; they visualize apelike blacks swinging from tree to tree; and hear the licking of cannibal chops. To dispel this myth it is invariably necessary to begin by pointing out that Africa too had great buildings and great states similar to those which emerged in the history of those countries where our white oppressors and denigrators reside. Both to complement and to transcend that type of instruction, we have also to base ourselves solidly within the culture of Africa.

It is possible to compare the Western Sudan between the fifth and the fifteenth centuries with Europe in the Dark and Middle ages, and the comparison is advantageous to Africa on many points. But from there it is possible to fall into the trap of believing that the political state is the only meaningful form of social development and to feel bemused as a black man because Europe pursued that form to the full in succeeding centuries, while Africa did not. Quite apart from the fact that stagnation in the "Third World" was causally related to advance in Western Europe, the argument about civilisations leads into a cul de sac when we do not reject European cultural egocentricity. In this instance, the whites have merely selected a facet of their own culture which is outstanding—namely, the ability to bring together millions in a single political unit—and they have then used this as a universal yardstick for measuring the inherent worth of cultures and races. (The classic example of this cultural egocentricity is the statement that "the black man never invented the wheel.")

What is most fundamental in an attempt to evaluate the African contribution to the solution of the problems posed by man's existence in society; and hence the stress placed in this paper on matters pertaining to social relations: codes of hospitality, processes of the law, public order and social and religious tolerance. In each of those areas of human social activity, African norms and practices were given a high value by Europeans themselves. They often reflected that the hospitality they saw in an African village was lacking in their communities; that the security of goods and persons in Africa stood

in marked contrast to brigandage and deprivations in Europe; and that the restraint of African law with respect to capital punishment was to be set off against the fact that dozens of offences were still punishable by death in Western Europe up to the sixteenth century. On the other hand, African norms were frustrating to capitalists. For instance the whites resented the polite formulae of African greetings since they were lengthy and could delay business for a whole day. One European denounced African hospitality in the following terms: 'The law of hospitality is obstructive of industry. If there is provision in the country, a man who wants it has only to find out who has got any, and he must have his share. If he enters any man's house during his repast, and gives him the usual salutation, the man must invite him to partake. Thus, whatever abundance a man may get by assiduity, will be shared by the lazy; and thus they seldom calculate for more than necessaries. But the laws of hospitality are not restrained to diet. A common man cannot quietly enjoy a spare shirt or a pair of trousers. Those who are too lazy to plant or hunt are also too lazy to trade.'

The above is a beautiful set-piece of the moral terminology of capitalist accumulation—the 'assiduous' and the 'industrious' who will inherit the earth, while those who do not share grace are the ones who were 'lazy'. It pointedly illustrates the difference between the African and European cultures. A lot is known about the dialectical development of European society, but very little about that of Africa prior to and immediately after it was drawn into trade relations with Europe and the Americas. However, the few studies which exist suggest that the two continents were fundamentally different in ethos and were not moving in the same direction. Even within the empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhai, the explosiveness of class contradictions was lacking, as Diop stresses in his Nations Negres et Culture. In the states of Ashante and Dahomey, whose growth was contemporaneous with European mercantilism, there was no concept of the 'market' in the sense of supply and demand, and the social redistribution of goods made accumulation impossible. The most pronounced line of growth was not economic but cultural. There were a few nuclei representing distinctive ways of organising life, and these were spreading—the Mande, Akan, Yoruba, and Hausa being among the best-known from West Africa. European commerce (and the slave trade in particular) deflected the course of their

historical advance.

The difference between African and European historical formation made the white men 'superior' in the operative sense, for they were able to establish hegemony, due to the technology and class dynamic of capitalism. The consequences for Africa were disastrous. Economies were disjoined and oriented externally; anarchy, injustice in the realm of the law, internal slavery and exploitation replaced public security, the humane operation of the law and the solidarity of the family. But, apart from the measurable negative effects, one must also consider that a fantastic amount of physical and social energy went into the defensive task of sheer survival. We did survive not only in Africa, but on this side of the Atlantic—the greatest miracle of all time! And every day black people in the Americas perform the miracle anew.

Needless to say we do more than just survive. Anguished New World blacks, in the search for dignity usually ask for elements of unquestioned grandeur in their African past. These can be perceived in the Ife/Benin sculptures, the pilgrimage of Mansa Musa, the carved rock churches of Lalibela, and in a great deal more. But, after all that we would still lack the understanding that ordinary African life had meaning and value. That is one of the weakest aspects of our perception of the African past; and it is that chink which allows the white propaganda machine to suggest that contemporary distortions in African society represents pure atavism. Congolese and Nigerian problems in particular have been successfully projected among black people as the breaking out of the ancestral savagery of tribalism, once the restraining hand of white civilisation was removed. Of course, in reality these tragic contemporary situations are consequences of neo-colonial forces impinging on African colonial society, just as capitalism in its mercantilist and imperialist phases had earlier deformed traditional Africa.

The foregoing remarks should be sufficient to substantiate the proposition that an overall view of ancient African civilizations and ancient African cultures is required to expunge the myths about the African past, which linger in the minds of black people everywhere. This is the main revolutionary function of African history in our hemisphere. Some individuals envisage that this knowledge is a stepping stone to the active regeneration of an African way of life, but this is far-fetched, except in the case of the African continent itself. For instance,

President Nyerere, in his policy document, Socialism and Rural Development, defined a new Socialist agrarian formation, the Ujamaa village, after reflecting on the nature of African traditional society and the direction in which it was already being transformed within the colonial era and the first years of independence. That exercise by the leadership of the people of Tanzania was regional rather than broadly 'African', and it was as much an exploration of the present as a recovery of the past. Applied to New World blacks, this means in effect that the history nearest to revolutionary action will be the history of Africans in their new American environments.

(First draft of paper...)

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THE YOUTH

I WANT TO KNOW THE TRUTH.
 BUT THEY TELL ME TO WAIT.
 WAIT TILL WHEN?
 TILL I'M SEVENTY
 OR EIGHTY AND EIGHT.
 I CAN-NOT WAIT.
 BECAUSE DEM TEK YOUNG PEOPLE FE IDIOT.
 TO DEM TRUTH IS WHEN YOU DON'T TELL LIE OR WHEN YOU FACE DON'T
 SHOW IT.
 HOPING THAT THEY COULD HIDE THE TRUTH AND I WOULD NEVER KNOW
 DEM COLD.
 FOR THE TRUTH WILL OUT.
 BECAUSE I, THE YOUTH WILL SHOUT:
 I WANT TO KNOW.
 AND GOD WILL SHOW.
 AND I WILL SPEAK THE TRUTH ALL ABOUT.
 EAST, WEST, NORTH AND SOUTH.
 AGAIN, AND AGAIN.
 YET IT WILL BRING PAIN.
 SO IF THEY WANT TO STAMP IT OUT
 THEY'LL HAVE TO SHUT MY MOUTH,
 AND EVERY EAR WHICH HAS HEARD ME, AND STILL WISHES TO HEAR
 THE TRUTH
 AND EVERY MOUTH BETWEEN THOSE EARS AND ON AND ON
 BUT IT CAN'T BE DONE
 FOR THE TRUTH IS,
 I, THE YOUTH.

BONGO.....

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MO-BAY:

NO MORE APOLOGIZING!

MARCUS GARVEY

HEED GARVEY!

(Extracted from a speech made by Marcus Garvey in 1921 on a visit to Montego Bay. Printed in the Daily Gleaner April 4, 1921 in excerpt form. This is from one of the unpublished Garvey stock-pile which serves to strengthen his Philosophy & Opinions.)

I have come to you in Jamaica to give new thoughts to the 800,000 black people in this island. When I contemplated coming to Jamaica I knew that Jamaica had no thought, it was for me to give new thought. Montego Bay being only a part of Jamaica I knew you had no thoughts save that given to you 83 years as sychophants looking up to the white man as superior and master. I am not here with any sympathy for the old spirit of Jamaica, I am here to give you if I can a new spirit of manhood. Not the spirit to bow and cringe, to apologize, but the spirit to strike forward for the rights of the Negro people of the world.

Jamaican Negroes are too apologetic. A man who wants things, does not apologize—he demands things! (Hear! Hear!)

As a people you have been buffeted and tossed about for too long! The time has come when your voice must be heard throughout the length and breadth of this land—and throughout the world. You must not expect speech of compromise, of apologies; that is not in me; I am not made that way. I represent a manhood movement—a movement with backbone and only men of backbone we appreciate. I am here to represent the sentiment of four hundred million Negroes, one of the strongest groups of people in the world.

I, like the majority of you was born in this country 33 years ago, circumvented by the conditions of the country—the environment of this country, an environment that sits on black men—that he must be merely a hewer of wood and carrier of water—a servant looking up to the white man as superior and master—who was born to believe himself inferior to other races—born not to have hope for himself. Under this environment I was born myself—you all know of this. But I did not confine myself to this environment which keeps a black man at the foot of the ladder. I was entitled to climb as any other man, be they white, yellow or black.

I have to disabuse the mind of some of you who came here as black—white and brown—white men, who are everything else except what they are. We have in Jamaica a peculiar race combination which calls for some explanation. I want to give that explanation and those who may be satisfied can remain and those not desirous of being what they are can take the privilege of doing whatsoever they care.

I CAME HERE TO SPEAK TO NEGROES. I AM NOT HERE TO SPEAK TO WHITE PEOPLE. I WANT THIS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD. THIS PECULIAR RACE QUESTION IS GOING TO DESTROY JAMAICA. DESTROY THE ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL WELL-BEING OF THIS COUNTRY BECAUSE THIS PECULIAR RACE QUESTION OF YOURS IS DRIVING ABROAD MORE JAMAICANS THAN YOU HAVE IN JAMAICA. And when any country drives its native population abroad that country is doomed. I am here to give you my wide experience and to settle this ignorant race issue of yours. In this country the white man can raise no issue; he is at a discount. Whatever harm is done you are to blame; it is engineered by yourself. Conditions racially depend on yourselves because some of you Negroes refused to admit what you are, you want to be everything else except what God created you to be.

I want you to understand that you are not living in a world exclusively your own, you are living in a world made up of great groups of humanity, and these divide themselves into races and each race has a name. In Jamaica every man represents a race to himself-the most peculiar country for the race question I have ever met.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association is a world-wide movement of Negroes, black and coloured, who have enough self-respect to call themselves by a race name.

What is the movement for? For the industrial, commercial, social, educational and political betterment of the race-not only in one country but everywhere. Why do we call it UNIA? Because after careful study and analysis we have discovered that Negroes nowhere represent anything of power and Negroes everywhere are badly treated simply because they represent no power of their own. Hence if all ARE universally backward-let us organize and go forward. Hence I come before you representing the Universal Movement of Negroes. We are going home to destiny. And what is destiny? Destiny is the point to be reached by every individual race and nation. And the destination of the black people shall lead them on to a great African Empire.....

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RAS DIZZY FACES 9 MONTHS IMPRISONMENT ON A WOUNDING CHARGE. HE HAS A SCAR IN HIS HEAD WHERE HE WAS PHYSICALLY WOUNDED. INSIDE BABYLON MEANS HIS LOCKS WILL BE SHORN. STILL, THE POET, PAINTER, & JOURNALIST IS MIGHTIER THAN MEN. THE HEAVIER WILL BE THE FALL OF BABYLON.

We reprint one of Bongo Dizzy's creation.

THE VOICE OF THE INTERPRETER: BONGO DIZZY
COME IN INTERPRETER: LISTEN TO WHAT THE RASTAS HAVE TO SAY AND FIND OUT WHAT WE MEANT IN OUR WORDS.
RASTAS

Look at Jamaica this way that been 93 percent black people in Jamaica. Stop trying to be white, and stop catering to white. Rastas firmly hold the opinion that Jamaica should not only be a country of black but it should be a country run by us and for us and our people. Our God is Blackness-Rastas don't even use lawyers in our defence. We have no leaders other than God Almighty Rastafari himself.

We are truly humble people whose response to evil is to flee from it. Hence the Back to Africa slogan. Rastas are no threat to anyone. We have been waiting since the 1930's and we will wait on. But Government better hurry up while we wait. Like those Jews who were disappointed by the Messiah for doing wickedness to his prophets so many today would still be followers through the disappointment of Rastafari for all what they have done to us all as Rastas.

I would not have published lying and disgraceful things of Rastas which are not so. I would not tell the public lies by saying that Rastas are murderers and thieves and that Rastas planned rebellion. More or less I would not tell people that Rastas go unclean-make

bombs and that they are mad people and hate white folks. And last but worse I would not be an editor who stands to blackmail to the truth of a Rasta article at the Gleaner but quick to place at the newspaper headlines-something bad and disgraceful of Rastas. Rastas stand to declare truth and justice and equality for everyone and to wipe out colonialism which now exists in Jamaica as strong and bold as ever.

Take a turn on independence: Jamaica today is said to be independent-yet English customs and laws and English instructions still lead us. The white queen still rules. The black governor general is but her representative, how much voice do we have in saying what laws will pass at Gordon House-as far as I am concerned-politics was not the black man's lot but the white man's plot. Clever politicians in there pretend of heart, always promise that they going to make things better for the future but it all turns out to be political propaganda and trickness.

The blackman in this country and throughout the West has united with the heads of Government in helping to build better Jamaica, but we the black majority who has helped plowed the soil-planted the vineyard and gather the fruits thereof-We are not the benefactors-those who benefit them are the protectors. They share the crops. They boss the work and owned the shares. Why then, should we always slave for this? The majority of Jamaicans are black-why then are not the black supreme here? We want no more promises, we want fulfillment now. Years of slavery in the western world-what for? THUS JAMAICA'S INDEPENDENCE MEAN A WELL WITHOUT WATER, A TREASURY WITHOUT MONEY.

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ON LIBERTY

TIMOTHY CALLENDAR

Finally, out of the crippling womb
of fettered existence
the naked child has writhed
and made himself free....
the blade of grass has sprung through
heavy earth
to breathe the air of liberty....
and clouds of narrow thinking have strangled
-but no more do-my sun.
I see this island with new eyes;
the old ones are removed.

You will allow me to be somewhat individual in the approach that I make to this question. Most of all, I want to speak of Walter Rodney not only as a person persecuted, and the subject, the necessary subject for a protest like this. I want to let you know that in West Africa, in East Africa recently, and in London among circles interested in Africa, Dr. Walter Rodney is already noted as a distinguished scholar in African affairs. He has not written much, but what he has done shows an invasion of a field that has either been neglected or spoken about without sufficient knowledge--the state of Africa before the slave trade began. That has been recognised as of tremendous importance to us who are concerned with our origins and the impact of the African race upon Ancient and upon Modern Civilizations. Already he has made his impact in that sphere and as I say on two sides of the African Continent and in London I hear his work spoken about by people who understand it and its importance. It is a scandal that the Government of Jamaica has seen fit to choose him to carry out its political activity against.

This is the first point I want to make.

The second point I want to make is a negative point.

I hear people speaking about things that take place in the Caribbean and elsewhere and I repeatedly hear the remarkable initials, C.I.A. Now it is not for me to say what the C.I.A. has done or what it will do. What I want to say here tonight is that I do not see the slightest reason for detaching the full responsibility of what has taken place in the Caribbean as a whole and passing it on to the United States. These persons responsible for this are the rulers, the POLITICAL LEADERS OF THE CARIBBEAN TERRITORIES.

CARIBBEAN MISRULE

And what I want to do this evening is to show you that this has been anticipated. I have here a book Party Politics in the West Indies. I will read certain passages from it to show you that among the reasons why I left the Caribbean was because I knew what was going to happen, and this was no surprise. It is not the erratic behaviour of some individual. It is characteristic of a whole tribe and race of people who are now misgoverning the West Indies. Now I will read this passage.

"Politics is an activity not merely to support something or somebody, it is to discuss and plan and to carry out some programme and perspective of our own and then to judge how far you have succeeded or failed and why. It does not limit a Government. The more of this the people do the bolder and more comprehensive the plans of Government can be, the more it can defy its enemies."

In other words, this shooting down of the population is not an accident, it is not something that happened suddenly. It is something inherent in the whole method of Government of the present rulers of the Caribbean countries. Here it is: "otherwise if you don't govern properly, if you do not develop a democratic consciousness of the people, if you do not let a new people, formerly slaves, realise that Independence must mean something to them then as sure as day you find you have to shoot them down."

I am going to read another passage.

"Some readers may remember seeing a movie of the night of the Independence of Ghana, and hearing Nkrumah choose at that time to talk about the African Personality. This was to be an aim of the Ghanaian people with Independence. Is there a West Indian Personality, is there a West Indian nation? What is it, what does it lack, what must it have? The West Indian middle class keep far from these questions. The job, the car, the fridge, the trip abroad preferably under Government auspices and at Government expense, these seem to be the beginning and end of their preoccupation. What foreign forces, social classes, ideas, do they feel themselves allied with or attached to? Nothing. What in their own history do they look back to as a beginning of which they are the continuation? I listen to them, I read their speeches, and their writings. "Massa day done" seems to be the extreme

limit of their imaginative concepts of West Indian nationalism. Today nationalism is under fire and every people has to consider to what extent its nationalism has to be mitigated by international considerations. Of this as of so much else the West Indian middle class is innocent. What happens after independence? For all you can hear from them independence is a dead end. Apart from the extended opportunities of jobs with government, independence is as great an abstraction as was federation. We achieve independence and they continue to govern.

But it is not going to stop there. They continue to misgovern the country and already we see in Jamaica (and I am saying this is going to happen all over the Caribbean) a violent confrontation between the backward reactionary Government that is still living in the 17th century with a population that is part of the 20th century. That is the problem that has exploded in Jamaica and that is the problem that is going to explode all over the Caribbean. We must be ready for it.

WHEN ARE YOU GOING TO LEAVE?????

Before I sit down I want to bring one more point before you, and this is something that was told to me by a man for whom I have the greatest personal respect and affection--George Lamming. He told me this story, and he told it to me with the significant purpose in mind. George was in Barbados, his home country, and Walcott, the head of the trade union movement, asked him to come and speak to the movement. So all the trade unionists heard that Mr. Lamming, a great writer, was going to speak, and they piled up the place, they had to put loud speakers outside and there were thousands of them there. And George spoke. He spoke about the Conference of Berlin, he was speaking about black people and what happened in Berlin. Bismarck had beaten them back and they divided up Africa. They had a ruler and they said that is for me and that is for you, and you take that. They divided Africa up. And he drew the development from those days up to 1958 when there took place the First Conference of the Independent African States. George spoke about the development of the Negro people, of the Barbadian people, of African Independence, etc. There was tremendous applause, a great

deal of excitement and enthusiasm. George went back home. George never made any sort of reference to any Barbadian politician. He did not say he wanted to stay in Barbados to make politics. But after that speech the next day from the Barbadian politicians and their friends, this was the question: "George, when are you leaving?" They did not want anybody to tell the Barbadian population that they had an important history and were no longer to be looked upon as hewers of wood and drawers of water.

The mere fact that George had spoke to them about the history of black people and the strife that we had met during the previous 70 or 80 years was enough to get them frightened and ask, "George, when are you going to leave?" "When are you leaving Barbados?"

So Dr. Rodney is in difficulties because he is telling the people there something about the history of Africa which has been so much neglected. I think it is not only important, but it is highly significant that we not only say what we think, but by resolutions and other ways register our disapproval not only of what has happened to Rodney, but of the exposure that the educated classes in the Caribbean are making to the way they are misgoverning our poor countrymen.

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NO MORE EURO-BALL-GAME

FRANTZ FANON

The European game has ended for good; something else must be found. Today we can do anything as long as we do not imitate Europe, as long as we are not obsessed with the desire of catching up with Europe...

Two centuries ago a former European colony set itself the task of closing the gap in relation to Europe. It succeeded so well that the United States of America became a monster in which the defects, sicknesses, and inhumanity of Europe reached horrifying dimensions.

For the Third World, it is a matter of reinitiating a history of man that will take into account not only the at-times prodigious theses sustained by Europe but also the crimes of Europe, of which the most ferocious has been, within man, the pathological disjointing of his faculties and the shattering of his wholeness; within the

framework of collectivity, the rupture, the stratification, the bloody tensions nourished by classes; finally, on the vast scale of humanity, racial hatred, slavery, exploitation, and, above all, the bloodless genocide involved in casting aside a thousand and a half million men.

Thus, comrades, let us not pay tribute to Europe by creating states, institutions and societies inspired by her.

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BLACK MOTHER... ..Bongo Jerry.....

Africa for Africans,

At home and abroad.

Jamaica? Out of many one?

Fraud.

'Out of One', Many nations feed

That's how it seems to me

Europe's Piaca nations climbed her back,

Made slaves of the free.

But some would not see it so,

They say 'no, no'...

We must have good race relations.

Race Relations?

Does that mean trade with African nations

Loving black bretheren, pride in my race?

Or being extra nice to tourists

Won't know the colour of my face?

"Such tame natives."

Jamaica is the nation

Which the Arawaks were given

And from which in Europe's greed

Said Arawaks were driven.

Dem a de native.

The same men came to Africa

With gun and bribe in hand,

Kidnapped me from my mother

To work their captured land,

Dem a de squatter.

I booked no passage to come?

Paid no plane fare

They bid me applaud when Jews shout 'Zion'

Yet what am I doing here,

I, a captive?

Confused with pointless affiliation they all sing

'Exodus'.

But when Black Man means it, there's a Middle class, fuss--

They who disown Black Mother with 'Out of Many One'

They are unrelated to I and I, Black Brother,

Dem a orphan.

We all know how the West was won by Samfie, Scank, Deeeit and Gun,
By raping Black Mother and disinherit her children
Alias Africa and the New World
According to European men.
That name itself seems to be a fraud
'Ethiopia for Ethiopians at home and abroad'
True Lord.

HISTORICAL LETTERS OF MARCUS GARVEY, W.A. DOMINGO, AND GEORGE
PADMORE . LETTER NO. 1

In the Daily Gleaner, April 6, 1921 Garvey wrote a lengthy letter in reply to his critics especially the white missionary Rev. Ernest Price, Principal of the Baptist Theological College, Calabar and mentor for many of the Reverend Black Gentlemen.

An extract:

'I take it for granted that the Reverend Gentleman (Rev Ernest Price) means that his predecessors worked for the abolition of slavery in Jamaica, speaking of fellows like Wilberforce & Buxton. If he knew anything of history claiming to be a B.A. as he is, he would have known that Negroes did not bring themselves into slavery, that slavery was imposed upon them by his own predecessors, therefore if the said predecessors liberated the said Negroes from slavery they were but performing a duty that would have had to be done at some time or the other, to save their own skins. With what happened in Haiti and the threatening attitude of the Jamaican slages at the time, Wilberforce and Buxton and the rest, saw the handwriting on the wall, and knew well if they had not done something to bring about the emancipation, the people whom their brothers kept in slavery, would have ultimately emancipated themselves, to the loss of certain people not only in cash, but in something more dear to them. --'

Rev E. Price had been saying - Look what we've done for you and this rogue Garvey comes to tell you to give up our christian preaching...

LETTER NO 2.

Mrs Garvey led a discussion in Irvine Hall recently which I hope the Minister of Home Affairs reads. It is with him in mind that I reprint this letter from W.A. Domingo to Amy-Jacques Garvey.

April 20, 1954

BANNING OF LITERATURE

"Quite a formidable list of publications have been banned from entry into Jamaica. I approve of excluding the books on magic and other superstitions, but in banning books on politics, also publications of a similar nature, the government simply reveals its fears. Colonial peoples have a double problem. They have to fight their own reactionaries as well as the naturally reactionary government of the controlling power. The situation is worse when the two elements fuse and work against the masses, one openly as the agent of an alien over-lord and the other concealed as the friends of the people of whom they are a part. The question that the people should ask: of what are the rulers afraid? To whom is the banned literature a danger-" He then quotes from Wendell Phillips-

"When I want to learn who are the true vanguard of the people, I turn to the affrighted dreams of their oppressors and those whom they fear are the true friends and leaders of the oppressed.

BUT SUPPRESSION HAS A WAY OF BOOMERANGING..W.A. Domingo-

LETTER NO. 3

Letter from that giant of Pan-Africanism. This is reprinted with the Jamaican Cabinet in mind.

Oct. 3, 1950: George Padmore writes to Amy Jacques Garvey-

"It is typical of West Indian mentality to make a big show of erecting public statues to men, who in their lifetime were ignored. It seems that the money would be better spent in endowing a scholarship or building a school for the benefit of future generations. Such an institution could bear the name of Marcus Garvey.

It would hit two birds with the same stone...commemorate his memory and serve a useful purpose in the life of the community. Today, nobody erect stone monuments, they express public appreciation in some useful institutional manner-hospital, school or library...

With sincere respect and admiration for all that you have done
for the Race---George Padmore.

...../.....
Langston Hughes

WHAT HAPPENS TO A DREAM DEFERRED?

DOES IT DRY UP

LIKE A RAISIN IN THE SUN

OR FESTER LIKE A SORE

AND THEN RUN?

DOES IT STINK LIKE ROTTEN MEAT?

OR CRUST AND SUGAR OVER--

LIKE A SYRUPY SWEET?

MAYBE IT JUST SAGS

LIKE A HEAVY LOAD.

OR DOES IT EXPLODE?

...../.....

THE BLACK MAN'S IS A STRANGE SITUATION: IT IS A
PERSPECTIVE, AN ANGLE OF VISION HELD BY OPPRESSED
PEOPLE; IT IS AN OUTLOOK OF PEOPLE LOOKING UPWARD
FROM BELOW. IT IS WHAT NIETZCHE ONCE CALLED A 'FROG'S
PERSPECTIVE ". OPPRESSION OPPRESSES AND THIS IS THE
CONSCIOUSNESS OF BLACK MEN WHO HAVE BEEN OPPRESSED
FOR CENTURIES--OPPRESSED FOR SO LONG THAT THEIR
OPPRESSION HAS BECOME A TRADITION, IN FACT, A KIND OF
CULTURE." Richard Wright's introduction to George Padmore's
Pan-Africanism or Communism.

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MARCUS GARVEY & THE DAMNED Bongo Rupert

'I AM A BLACK MAN IN A WORLD DOMINATED BY WHITE OPPRESSION,
AND THAT IS MY TOTAL PHILOSOPHY. I WOULD LIKE TO GET RID OF
THAT OPPRESSION, AND THAT IS MY TOTAL OBJECTIVE.' REV. CLEAGE ON
MALCOLM X.

This expresses in some ways Garvey's world-view.
The coloniser regarded Garvey's activities as subversive and anti-
european. Several of his publications were banned in the W.I. and
West Africa. The black and white agents tried on numerous occasions
to undermine his organization and even to assassinate him. Among
them is his first wife-Amy Ashwood, whom he divorced in 1921.

There are but few countries in which Marcus Garvey would not
be an undesirable. In 1927 he was released from Atlanta prison after
spending 2 years 9 months there and immediately a deportation order
was issued and he returned to Jamaica. In Jamaica today Garvey would
be arrested and imprisoned as he was in 1929. Today his wife and eld-
est son suffer physically from the criminal acts of political leaders
who exploit the Garvey symbol. Of greater importance is the fact of
having a young prison population, which is BLACK and have been
imprisoned as a result of oppression. The important thing is that like
Garvey the youth know wherein their oppression lies.

For me Garvey is the hero of an unfinished struggle because Africans
in the Caribbean, North America and Africa are not yet free.

We can consider Garvey under three headings. Firstly -Garvey & Black
Liberation:- Marcus Garvey, 26 years old in 1913, had his vision
clearly focussed. Writing in the magazine-African Times & Orient
Review, he nutshelled his life's work: 'As one who knows the people
well, I make no apology for prophesying that there will soon be a
turning point in the history of the West Indies, and that people who
inhabit that portion of the Western Hemisphere will be the instruments
of uniting a scattered Race. Nigerian, Prof. Essien-Udom, points to
Garvey's consuming passion as being: the unity and liberation of the
Negro Race, and more specifically freedom of Africa from the clutches
of colonial exploitation and racism.

Garvey started the Universal Negro Improvement Association &
African Communities League in Jamaica in 1914, with aims very similar

to those of the Black Power Movement in Jamaica. Garvey's organization served to reckon the strength of black people and involved us in conscious activity directed towards our own self-interest. This organization was international with branches and contacts in the United States, where Garvey had migrated and established headquarters, England, the Americas, and parts of Africa. There were the weekly newspaper-The Negro World-- and several other newspapers, magazines appearing in Garvey's wake wherever he went, some of which were published not only in English but also in French and Spanish editions. There was an annual international convention at which black people met to parley. Within the U.N.I.A. structure one found the African Orthodox Church, the Black Star Nurses, the Royal African Guard and the Black Star Line Shipping Enterprise.

Many people fail to see Garvey's African scheme as part of the U.N.I.A.'s policy for economic enterprise based on trade with Liberia. Nothing is wrong in querying the economic feasibility of his plans in the face of hostile international capitalism. The daring initiative he took goes unrecognised and we face the brutal anti-black propaganda which says Garvey intended only to ship black people to Africa. Mrs Amy-Jacques Garvey in a letter to David Cronon author of a biography of Marcus Garvey-(Black Moses...) dated 28 March 1955 writes:-"Look up Trade and Commercial Journals for reports of what Firestone Rubber Co. and the mineral Combine Companies have made yearly out of Liberia alone, by doing just what Garvey intended to do, and which they helped to prevent him from doing."

More on this can be found in her book 'Garvey & Garveyism.' Garvey emphasized organization which is keypointed in his record: Philosophy & Opinions.

SECONDLY: COLONIAL SOCIETY

Fanon writes harshly of the colonial world as a naked system of coercion-'in the colonies it is the policemen and the soldier who are the instituted go-betweens, the spokesmen of the settler and his rule of oppression.' The British colonial system was maintained not only by force but by an imposition of values which would secure black subservience.

As President-General of the UNIA & ACL Marcus Garvey visited

Jamaica in March 1921. The Daily Gleaner is very apprehensive for they are faced with an articulate black leader who is supported by his people. An important letter of his was published in the Daily Gleaner of June 2, 1921 which outlined his critical reactions to conditions in the island. At Ward Theatre he challenged the black colonials in one of his many speeches heard throughout the island. And those men winced. He called two by name. Rev Gordon-Somers and Rev Wilson were selected and challenged. These men has climbed to some status through the expatriate church to which we must now add politics, the Civil Service and the University. These men Garvey said owed leadership to the black masses instead of brainwashing them with obedience and meekness. Rev Wilson was the founder of the JAMAICA LEAGUE whose aim was to make Jamaica a Paradise by a variety of co-operative efforts, Booker-T style. Garvey's vision covered a continent and the people who had been shipped from that continent. These men did not heed Garvey, in fact, Rev Gordon-Somers supported an immoral attack in the Daily Gleaner by his white mentor the Rev Ernest Price who was Principal of the Baptist-Theological College, Calabar.

George Padmore, in his book-"The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers" writes-"The Negro masses in the W.I. are just as viciously

exploited as the natives of Africa or the black toilers in the Southern parts of the United States of America.

Their exploiters are not only the foreign imperialists, but the NATIVE BOURGEOISIE and the landlords, who are equally as ruthless in their suppression of the broad toiling masses as the foreign blood-suckers. In no section of the Black World are class lines more sharply defined than in the Caribbean colonies.'

C.L.R. James re-emphasises the point in his statement on Dr. Rodney pinpointing the misrule of black politicians in the Caribbean. About colonial society there are two things force and a racist ideology which embolster a class situation stratified on lines of colour and wealth.

In 1930 Garvey attempted to use the colonial political constitution in Jamaica granting 14 seats on the Legislative Council to foster black representation. He was unsuccessful on the hustings because of the limited franchise and the money used by his wealthy opponents to secure votes. He was arrested and jailed in Spanish Town

for a plank in his manifesto which called for --'a law to impeach and imprison Judges who, with disregard for British justice and constitutional rights, dealt unfairly--' He was released with little time for campaigning.

The white oligarchy in Jamaica feared Garvey or any other Black Man whose leadership did not conform to those of the coloniser, Edward Bedward, who had left his privileged position as headman of MONA ESTATE to become an evangelist was very expert with medicinal cures from the Hope River. Bedward planned a march from August Town to Kingston with the intention of witnessing a 'manifestation'. On the 27 of April, 1921, 208 of his followers were jailed; 2 platoons of the Sussex Regiment numbering 60 men with rifles and ammunition having augmented police detachments which hindered the march. The Editor of the Gleaner was happy because he said Kingston's malcontents would have increased the criminal content among Bedward's following and sparked off a riot. Bedward was tried and released as a lunatic. Later, while proceeding along Half Way Tree Rd. with his followers he was re-arrested on a charge of 'lunatic wandering at large--'.

When the people disregarded the guidelines of the oppressor they used force.

THIRDLY: CONFRONTATION NOW. I take a comment by Dr. Walter Rodney.

"In 1938, one hundred years after the supposed Emancipation of the Black Man in Jamaica, the masses once again were driven into action to achieve some form of genuine liberation under the new conditions of oppression. The beneficiaries of that struggle were a narrow, middle-class section whose composition was primarily, augmented by significant elements of white and other minority groups such as Syrians, Jews and Chinese. Of late, that ruling elite has incorporated a number of blacks in positions of prominence. However, irrespective of its racial or colour composition, this power-group is merely acting as the representatives of metropolitan-imperialist interests. Historically, white-racist oriented, these interests continue to stifle any attempt at creative social expression on the part of the black oppressed masses."

Marcus Garvey's philosophy is a total indictment of how human life is organized in Jamaica. Extract after extract from his speeches and writings express our opposition to the present set of

...../.....
MEN OF IDEAS

Roger Mais

Men of Ideas outlive their times
An idea held by such a man does not end with his death
His life bleeding away goes down
Into the earth, and they grow like seed
The idea that is not lost with the waste of a single life
Like seed springing up a multitude

They hanged Gordon from a boom
Rigged in front of the Court House
They hanged him with eighteen others for company
And Jesus had but two
But the ideas for which Gordon lived
Did not hang with him
And the great social revolution for which Jesus died
Did not die with him
Two men they nailed with Jesus side by side
Eighteen went to hang with Gordon from the new-rigged
boom

But the idea of equality and justice with Gordon
Went into the ground and sprung up like seed, a multitude
A hundred years the seed was a-growing in the ground
A hundred years is not too long
A hundred years is not too soon
A hundred years is a time and a season
And the time and the season of its growing and bearing fruit
Are inherent in its growth and its fruit
And this is the way and there is no other
A hundred years is not too long
For the seed to burst its husk under the ground
And cleave a path and press upward
And thrust a green blade in triumph at the sun
Do not be anxious for the house that is a-building
For the unsown acres under the plough

For all things await a time and a season.

The dream given to one man in the night
Not night nor darkness can call it back again
They hanged George William Gordon for the dream
He had been given in the night
That he carried in his breast
Thinking to put the dream to death
With the man they put to shameful death
But they give immortality to the dream
That time the man is put to death
For the dream is all
It is all of a man that there is and immortal
And all of immortality of a man there is.

A long time ago they hanged George William Gordon
But not so long
A long time ago
They put Jesus on a cross
But not so long
For all things have a time and a season
A long time ago
The pea doves took the sweetwood seeds
And let them fall on the valley bottoms
That are now the virgin forest of the great backlands
Of new timber, a long time
Were the bare rock-spure growing
That is now a matted forest floor
Where the wild birds took and dropped
The little sweet kernels of the tall timbers
A long time ago, but not so long
For all things have a time and a season
And a hundred years is not too long
And a hundred years is not too soon
They hanged Gordon with eighteen others
They nailed Jesus between two thieves
But the ideas these men lived for did not die with them
A single grain of corn will yield an ear of corn

And an ear of corn in two generations will sow a field
And these things befall between a moon and a moon
All things await a time and a season
And twice a hundred years is not too long
Or twice a hundred years too soon.

...../.....

GO AFRO--

Bunny Cunningham

During the period of colonization by the British, members of the white race held all the best jobs, lived in the most luxurious houses and dressed in what seemed to be the best clothes. They were considered both by themselves and their African slaves to be example of a most highly cultured and civilised people. The Africans themselves were made to feel that the only way to gain dignity and respect was to copy the English style of dress and manners and even began to straighten out their naturally kinky hair by using a heated, iron comb.

Today, 130 years after Emancipation of the slaves, we are left with the Colonial Heritage of Black Inferiority. This is reflected by the fact that Negro women still straighten their hair, although now using more sophisticated and even dangerous chemicals. Bouncing flips and bouffant upsweeps are combed, all copied from English or American advertisements or magazines.

The realisation that kinky hair and straight hair are simply different forms of hair, equally good in their own right, first came to American Negroes in their fight for racial equality. A few American women stopped straightening their hair because of this; others followed perhaps **only** for the style or for the ease with which it was kept. The new style was called the "Afro" and was at first simply hair cut short and left natural. Within a short space of time, the "Afro" spread among the more "conscious" Negro women, and new hairstyles and combs were adapted for the new trend.

This awareness that kinky hair could be worn naturally and still look beautiful, filtered through to a few Jamaican women. These few women stopped straightening their hair and cut the "Afro". This hairstyle was so called because it is also worn by certain African women. This might be significant for some people in that they are recognising their link with their ancestors from Africa, but it should be more

important as an indication of their assured beauty of naturally kinky hair.

Mention must be made of many lower class women, who, because of their religious convictions or lack of money, did not straighten their hair. This was not considered unusual. But when so-called "respectable middle-class" women who were brought up to adhere to European cultural standards, stopped straightening their hair, it produced a dilemma in certain sections of the Jamaican society. Some people were embarrassed at the exposure of "bad" hair, and others interpreted it as part of the Back to Africa movement; both ideas of which could not be tolerated by these status-conscious Jamaicans. It was only through the rejection of their African past, and adoption of European styles of behaviour, speech and dress, that Negroes could improve their social status. To them any action or dress which emphasized blackness was not synonymous with dignity, and would not command respect either from their own kind or from the whites.

So still only few Jamaican middle-class girls are assured of the beauty of their hair in its natural form. The most common style is still the 'Afro'. Some people will argue that this very short hair will not suit everyone. This might be so, and should be an incentive for new and different styles to be created to suit the different shapes of faces as is now being done in the U.S.

But whether the hair is long or short, combed in a bun or in plaits, it is important that it is left in its natural kinky form. For as long as the Negro woman straightens her hair, she is making it obvious that she is ashamed of her Negroid characteristics, and considers them inferior to those of the white race. The Negro woman must realize that to be BLACK IS TO BE BEAUTIFUL!

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NOTES ON C.L.R. JAMES/ROGER MAIS

C.L.R. James was born in Trinidad and Tobago in 1901. He went to England in 1932, lived in the United States, and return to London. Has written, many articles, pamphlets, and other works, chiefly political and historical: The Black Jacobins (the history of Toussaint L'Ouverture and the slave revolt in Santo Domingo during the French Revolution) - World Revolution: the Decline and fall of the Communist International;

The History of the Negro Revolt. / Mariners, Renegades & Castaways (A study of the American novelist Herman Melville, but in reality an exercise on the relation between the material base and the superstructure.) Beyond a Boundary: More than a book about cricket. Cricket & social life in the W.I. C.L.R. James' editing of The Nation newspaper in 1959 is a landmark in journalism.....

Roger Mais: Born Jamaica-1905-55. Novels-The Hills were Joyful Together Brother Man, Black Lightning. In 1944 went to prison for his article "Now We Know" which exposed British Colonialism--. Many unpublished manuscripts in the University Library.

BOOKS

C.L.R. JAMES.....BLACK JACOBINS (SECKER & WARBURG 1938)
PARTY POLITICS IN THE WEST INDIES.

(VENDIC ENTER.LTD.)

BEYOND A BOUNDARY (HUTCHINSON)

HISTORY OF NEGRO REVOLT.

GEORGE PADMORE.....PAN AFRICANISM OR COMMUNISM
(NEW YORK RAY PUB. 1958)

ERIC WILLIAMS.....CAPITALISM & SLAVERY

FRANTZ FANON.....BLACK SKINS WHITE MASKS

WRETCHED OF THE EARTH

TOWARDS THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

(PUBLISHED BY GROVE PRESS)

MARCUS GARVEY.....PHILOSOPHY AND OPINIONS. (FRANK CASS)

PUBLISHER OF BLACKMAN & NEW JAMAICAN NEWSPAPERS
AT WEST INDIA REFERENCE LIBRARY.

AMY JACQUES GARVEY...GARVEY & GARVEYISM (privately published by author)
BLACK POWER IN AMERICA..essays--

(privately published by author)

ORLANDO PATTERSON: CHILDREN OF SISYPHUS (HUTCHINSON)
SOCIOLOGY OF SLAVERY.....

E.BRAITHWAITE : RIGHTS OF PASSAGE; MASKS...

In each issue of this journal we will suggest certain books. r

SEE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

...../.....

Timmy Callendar

note from a diary

Once I was a christian. I was a christian because all my family, all my relatives, for two generations were; they all belonged to the same sect or church. I was a christian because that was the only way to live life, I was told, and I had been unfortunate in that I had grown up without any other way of life to contrast that life by. I lived a christian life because it was the only life within my realm of experience.

My schooling changed my life. My parents had foreseen it; all through my early life they had guarded against my final yielding to 'the world' by informing me of its evils until I was too frightened to step outside the house unless I was going to church. But they had to send me to school; being middle class, and being black, like all other aspiring black middle class people they felt that education was my only weapon to manage the world by. They allowed me to be educated because I was too black to get a good job otherwise. They told me so and I accepted it; no joke; in Barbados this was raw fact, and still is, though no one likes to look at it. In Barbados everyone pulls down the curtain and locks the door at the first sign of something unpleasant.

I was a christian through fear, too; this was the greatest element used to win converts by the preachers I knew. I was terrified at the thought of hell and fire and brimstone. I don't think that at any stage I liked the concept of heaven, but it was preferable to the hell I heard described. Come to think of it, I scarcely heard about heaven. I still know only very little about it. I am very familiar with hell; hell even now threatens every moment of my life.

It was only a long time after, when I could look back and view everything with the right perspectives, when I could take a long look at historical facts and reasons, that I realized too that I was a christian because I was black. And I realized too that if I had been poorer I would have been an even greater christian. In Barbados, the poor accept their poverty with resignation; the poorer they are, the better they qualify for heaven, they firmly believe. They have never thought of using their poverty as a weapon, as Jamaicans know so well how to do. Barbadians never really think, anyhow. They just accept.

They accept. They turn to God in their poverty, and they ask him daily to take care of them. They resist temptations to steal; for

if they engage in such activity they merit only eternal damnation afterwards. They do not feel exploited; and if they did they would hardly do anything positive about it.

I seriously felt christianity was for the poor. And seeing so many poor, who incidentally were black, going to church, was the evidence of this idea. And I learned that christians suffered, christians turned the other cheek, were abused, beaten, thrown to lions, martyred in thousands of ways for their beliefs. This was their lot in a world that hated them. They knew this. They knew that they had no rights in this world; therefore they kept on turning the other cheek.

So it ended up that in Barbados it was only the blacks who kept turning the other cheek; only the blacks seemed to be genuine christians. The kind that don't go to the Anglican church; the kind that live their in many pulsating ways, dancing, singing, shouting, beating; engaged in fiery, soul-searching, pounding experiences with God. (This doesn't mean that I knew the Anglican church well, I had only heard of it, I have never been there more than twice, and relatively recently.) My parents told me that it was a bad church, that the people there practised 'religious iniquity', which was worse than the common or garden sort. Since then I discovered that the Anglican church was evil, but not for those same reasons my parents gave.

I only understood why christians accepted everything that was done to them when I read in the bible that it was right to turn the other cheek. So then I thought that it was all right because the bible said so.

My parents were sorry that they were so black. They had enough money to be more respected if they were brown; I don't think they wanted to be white; they didn't have that much ambition. Brown would have been enough; brown with Good hair, and straight noses. They liked straight noses. I remember clearly how my mother taught me to pull up my nose every morning after I washed my face. After a number of years it would be pointed, she said, and I spent many mornings pulling up my nose. I really tried. But it didn't work out, and my nose remains the same way. I find that I love it now.

My parents, then, would have settled for brown. This preoccupation with colour warped their values. Not their fault, really, the whole society is like this; the people are full of ugly little inferiorities about themselves that frighten me nowadays. My mother was disappointed when she saw my young brother turning darker and darker almost daily as

he grew older. Later, when he wouldn't stop turning black in that most perverse, disobedient way, she kept him inside the house, out of the sun.

School days changed my life. I went to fourth form and was exposed to some of the strangest ideas I had ever heard. I had a problem; either I was thinking far in advance of everybody, or everybody was thinking far in advance of me. I heard people say that there was no God. I learned about this thing called evolution, which they said did away with the concept of God. I learned that all those white people I considered heroes, of whom I had read so much in so many history books, the Columbuses and Walter Raleighs and George Washingtons, were not the great heroes I thought they were. I read about slavery and realized that I was the wrong colour to see any good in it. I heard of a word called Communism. At first I avoided all these conversations, stopped my ears; I didn't have the courage to try to find out if the world I had built for myself was true one or not. But in spite of my fear, I was curious, as I'd been curious all my life; I disobeyed my parents and listened to this talk. I disobeyed them, regretfully, fearfully in so many other things, like experimenting with girls, for instance, despite the terrifying word fornication.

It took real courage, at that stage, to hear those fellows talk. I argued with them, at first, but they argued me out of all logic. I had to stop, to reason, to question myself very seriously. It was a very painful dialogue I had with myself. I questioned every damn thing then. I took a good long look at my parents, a long fearful look, for I had a lot of illusions about them. Then I swallowed a lot of hurt and proved to myself that their views were wrong. I shut my eyes and lashed out at all the illusions I had built up about them. After that I went through the long painful process of changing my thinking, of rehauling every attitude and value I had had all my life. A few of those values still remain; all of the others had to go.

The break with my parents didn't come through their religion or through hatred of their ideas. It came from direct ill-feeling between us because I dared to take a girlfriend, and not one of those paipsy creatures from the church either. They had a hell of a battle then; a battle of wills, ideas, love and hate, light and darkness, hell and heaven. They called in the leaders from the church. They actually resorted to blows when their talk wasn't heeded, and they realized they were the

losers, I think, when their beatings only made me more defiant. My father almost went mad trying to break my spirit. He saw his control slipping away, he couldn't control me; I couldn't obey him any more. They couldn't understand exactly what was happening to me, but an active dislike sprang up between us, a silent, acrimonious tension that came out in remarks against each other, mine getting more disrespectful time after time.

Finally I left school and left home. The Same day. Left school in the morning, left home in the evening. Slipped away, caught a ship to St. Vincent. There I could be alone, there they couldn't find me, there I proved myself. Running away from home was the most important thing that happened to me so far; it taught me how to be an individual, how to live; showed me I had that ability to live my life on my own.

So now things are more or less in focus; I am 'aware'. I hate turning the other cheek; one should not be hit in the first place. I have a lethal anger against exploitation; I hate to see people suffer, I wince with pain when I see beggars, I hate all of those sons of bitches who were historically responsible for warping my parents; and who dislike me on the grounds of race; I am genuinely sorry for those who believe so pathetically that they belong to another world and not to this. I know clearly how my future life will be, and I know that as long as things remain as they are in this life and in this world, I will be as I am; I am in my final conversion, and there can be no change.

And I see clearly the reason why so many young people have to fight their first battle against their parents; one simple reason being that ideas change, and that ninety per cent of the parental generation cannot change because the ideas of two generations ago are firmly implanted in their minds and can only be removed by the act of their dying. So there must be this gap; it may be an evil but a very necessary one. If parents can only feed and clothe you and not give you any sensible, practical ideas about what this living is all about, to take you through the raw facts of life; -well, until they do this all that talk of Honour thy father and thy mother must be regarded as a myth.

...../.....

"WHO YOU GONNA TURN TO"

Bongo Peter

"Trust not in oppression and become not vain in robbery: if riches increase, set not your heart on them. (Psalm 62:10)

"A Free University cannot exist in an unfree society."

Amidst the University's protestations against the government's banning of Dr. Walter Rodney, it has clearly expressed its desire to dissociate itself from the suffering people of Ja. who made their protest also on Oct. 16. This desire for separation was most clearly stated in the Nov. 1 issue of 'Comment' where, while defending the U.W.I. against the attacks in the Gleaner the editor states - 'As the Vice-Chancellor, has said we all deplore and regret the terrible losses. But the fact is that the looters and arsonists were not the students and not their friends.'

A closer examination of the events of that momentous day reveals whether or not they were the students' friends.

Hardly having left the campus the students encountered police, who attacked them with cattle prods (noted for their use against black people, by racists in Alabama) and Mace. Shortly after, on the Hope Road, the 'lice teargassed the demonstrators.

By this time a few members of the public who had waited for so long to see the students show some positive expression of their concern for the immense suffering in their society, had joined the march. These citizens by doing so were expressing their solidarity with the students and the cause they were defending.

Being the victims of yet another police attack, in front of Ja. House led by the Dishonourable Roy McNeil, the students persevered and plodded on to present their petition to the Minister, despite his manifest acts of Barbarism against them.

In the city open hostility of Shearer's 'lice to the students prompted even more people to openly display their solidarity and join the march. Yet despite their great numbers the crowd remained calm.

It was at Race Course (Cramp George V1) in the late afternoon, that the po-lice revealed themselves to be nothing but a bunch of sadistic thugs. Approaching from their beloved nonsense leader's office, they gassed the crowd and chased across the park beating

everyone they managed to catch in the crowd the 'lice kept roaming the street in gangs and assaulted people without question.

It was only then that the peoples' enormous capacity for patience became exhausted. The nature of Ja's political system was fully revealed. It was obvious from the number of strikes, throughout the year and from the numbers of unemployed sufferers that roamed the streets that considerable hardship was being experienced by the BLACK PEOPLE in Ja. The Government on the other hand seemed unconcerned. The Ministers intending only to 'skank' the people bought Benz upon Benz & Lincoln upon Buick and busied themselves with building monstrous Beverly Hills 'Mega Houses'. The money for these ventures was easily procured since our scavenging Northern neighbour the U.S. was willing to pay good money to set themselves up here.

Oh yes-we heard about development; Kingston re-development-more hotels for Yankees, Glistening Waters in Falmouth-more rooms for crackers from Texas-with shopping centres put up for them too. Yes, but the usual charge was Blacks keep out! The government seemed intent on killing us out. 'No-nonsense' Shearout from his first weeks in office gave his po-lice license to kill the Youth! "Set them alight without measuring the distance between you and them-" he told his 'lice men. No demonstrations were tolerated at all. Anyone attempting to demonstrate was severely brutalised by the Poxes of the like of Supt. Cox and his hoardes of 'lice.

The Daily Press was well controlled from time. But with a 'men' like Sealey as editor and under the control of the government's Ashenheim, what could one expect. Any letters to the editor which did not support the policies of Ashenheim's exploiting Government found its way into a waste basket.

It was the government's attempt to furthur the repression that sparked off the crowd that day--All avenues of peaceful protest seemed closed. The people were under attack and were forced to defend themselves.

The events of that Wednesday afternoon had quite a different effect on the students. Led by certain members of the Academic staff and well-established student leaders, who regularly take tea or (is it whisky) at Vale Royal and Ja. House, the student body as a whole gave up the struggle.

Certain Portuguese and white informer elements among the students wanted to separate from those people and confine the issues within the realms of Student Power. The students called a mint of meetings and agreed upon as many resolutions. These all came to naught, however. The students agreed to go back to classes, but the chance they had asked for to express their point of view never materialised. Meanwhile the government through their partners in crime, Sealey and Simmonds and that little demagogue Cargill continued to chastise the students and invent damning lies about them.

With the students off the scene, the government felt free to embark on a policy of increased terrorization of the people. Entrusted with this task was that sadistic hook-nosed fucker Joe Williams just returned from a course in 'Advanced Repression' in the U.S.A.

Lightning raids were carried out on cells throughout the country, yet according to the po-lice only ganja is kept in these places. Amongst the insurrectionists throughout the island the 'lice could only unearth 1 gun. 750 police are sent into Wareika to bring back 7 men most of them charged for ganja. Ha! Of course nothing is written in the Gleaner of the various beatings that take place on these raids. Do they point out the fact that the police use the Ganja laws as an instrument for arbitrary arrest? No. No. The Gleaner only defends law and order and Ashenheim's numerous businesses, of course.

Recently a set of youths in August Town area, while going to play football were stopped by a police and military patrol. The youths were searched and made to take off their pants in the road. When they protested this action the 'lice replied--"Shearer say whey we see two or three together we fe search dem." We presume the 'louse meant two or three Black People. Yet with all this the Government cannot produce evidence of subversion. What of all the literature they have been seæzing.?

THE UNIVERSITY

When the University was first formed it was intended by the British to be an institution of privilege within a colonial society. Its graduates were expected to form an elite well schooled in the Metropolitan culture. All the final-decision making powers rested with London University which encouraged this separation between the University and the people.

The University accepted their role willingly and as a whole concerned themselves with 'fete-ing' at the Union and jumping up at Carnival time. A few conscious ones did appear, but quickly labelled as 'cracks', they

were easily accommodated and their protests disregarded. Yet despite their radicalism these people maintained minimal contact with the masses. Their new ideas had little effect on them.

When finally the U.W.I. was formed and the powers of decision shifted from London into the hands of an autonomous Administration one hopefully awaited a change, trusting that the students with the guidance of Staff & Administration would begin to show a greater involvement in the life of the masses and would identify with them.

This was not to be so. Education was still a privilege within the society, less than one-tenth of 1% of the population of Ja. received University education.

Instead of using this privilege to work for the benefit of the whole society, they hurriedly adopted the life-style of the elite-classes. They mouth platitudes as empty as the middle-classes and their unconcern was as great. For a fact most of the students come from those classes and had gone to the U.W.I. well prepared as 'sons and daughters of the gentry'. For those not of gentry stock originally, they knew the almighty degree would soon qualify them for the material benefits to be reaped.

Undoubtedly a few efforts were made to establish contact with the society. The Guild through "The University Student-Speaks" programme did achieve some measure of success in widening the areas of contact between the U.W.I. and the mass of the population. Also there were a few academic studies into certain conditions and phenomena existing in society. Nonetheless the University's desire for separation was clear. In the summer the University's buildings remain conspicuously empty. The Hooligan elements couldn't possibly be trusted to occupy these buildings. Youth yearning for knowledge were left to roam the streets to be shot. Summer schools were inconceivable to the Administration who employ an old ogre like Max Brown to chase youth around in his Mini-mob.

Lack of understanding or concern by the U.W.I. for the suffering experienced in Ja. is displayed also by the U.W.I.'s inexplicable refusal to allow the Waste lands of the U.W.I. to be used by the workers for the cultivation of food crops.

What the period after Oct. 16 has clearly revealed is the extent to which Academic freedom-i.e. freedom to evolve and transmit ideas-on which a University thrives is dependent on the degree of freedom in the society in which it is situated.

In countering the peoples' opposition to their self-centred actions

these political bandits have resorted to a policy of brutalisation of the people, administered by the police. They can tolerate no protest hence the banning of the marches. Even impartial academics who point to the illogicalities of government's policy are villified. This happened when the New World Group criticised the sugar-plantation system. A trend of anti-intellectualism in the society is led by none other than the PM. An impartial assessment cannot be tolerated. Thus the University must be controlled. Lecturers and students of the University have had passports denied to them because they had been to Cuba while doing research. Clearly the government of Ja. is asserting some sort of a right to decide who the University should employ. Perhaps later, the government will, using of course its control over the Administration as it had done in the Thomas case, assert the right to decide which students should attend the University.

While it was agreed at the Council meeting not to alter the present form of the University until '72, the example of the Ja. Government's action towards Dr. C.Y. Thomas so soon after the Council meeting, suggests that what it intends to do is to use their control over members of the Administration to gain as complete control of the University as they would have had if they formed a University of Jamaica. Government spokesman, Ulric, 'Political Reporter', has already expressed their dislike for certain of the books on the reading lists.

What seems clear is that the denial of academic freedom to the University is only one phase of the government's attempt to construct a fascist system in the island. A Free University cannot exist in an unfree society. It is illogical for one to speak for academic freedom without concern for the other denials of freedom in the society.

It is true that attitudes on the campus have undergone a great change in recent months. Since the incidents of Oct. 16 there has been more awareness as to the ills existing in the society. More & more students are becoming committed to the struggle which faces the black-peoples in the W.I. Yet there are too many who just want to sit on their fat bombos and live good life. Well to those blood-clates all we can do is ask along with Bob Marley and the Wailing Wailers - 'who you gonna turn to -? Babylon Burning....

GIVE THANKS TO GOD, JAH RASTAFARI.

SILENT THUNDERSTORM

Down here on my knees, scrubbing your floor

You dangle me like a puppet

I answer your questions honey-mouthed

Questions: 'bout my John, and my church,

and my children

and my hopes, and my dreams

All my business

I answer your questions I don't even know nothing 'bout

I answer 'cause I want to come back tomorrow

I answer 'cause I'm here all day and you're

all the people I see

I answer 'cause I want you to tell your friends

what a good worker I am, in case they need a girl.

I answer your questions, 'cause I been answering your

questions so long, I don't know nothing else to do

'cept answer your questions

But make good use of me Mrs Goldfarts

'cause there ain't no more generations like me coming.

No more, who'll bend down and scrub your floor

while you kick them in the ass....

Mary Mason

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"Burst the Earth and Skies!"--But let my people get--
Not those Shotly-Shells nor nasty Tear Gas Set,
But Good Food! Good clothes! And House with Roof and Wall:
For Black Power comes for all!
(Full Chorus)

Can't be kept down any longer--Not at all,
Stand together with Black Power! Or we'll fall!
Forward Ever! Backward Never! Is the Call--
All for one! And One for All!
(Full Chorus)

In this Little Isle of Mother Nature Spring---
"Few" have plenty! Most - the People --not a thing!
Blackman has to starve on "Air Pie" all about,
Now we'll change this "Plan" and Shout!
(Full Chorus)

...../.....

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YOUTH

How to make it

In exchange for my education
The teacher wanted my black skin
And I gave it to him.

In exchange for my job
My employer wanted my black woman
And I gave her to him.

In exchange for a Buick
The dealer, well, he wanted my money
And I gave it to him.

In exchange for a house in Beverly Hills
My neighbours wanted my black mother
And I gave her to them.

In exchange for my grave
The priest wanted my black soul
(And I would have given it to him)
But I couldn't find it.

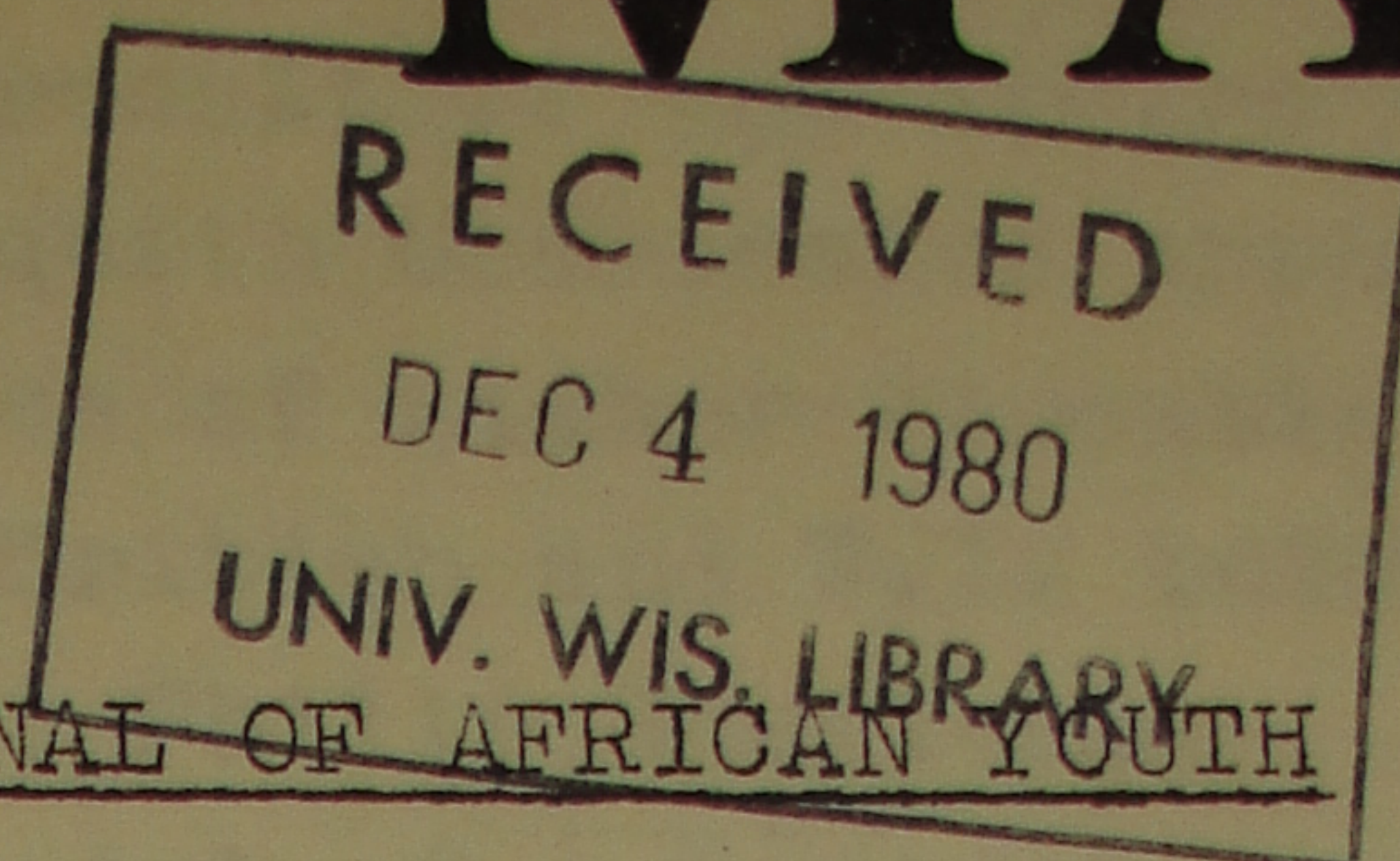
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Editorial Group

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NO 1.

DECEMBER 1968

JOURNAL OF AFRICAN YOUTH

MONTHLY PUBLICATION

AFRICAN HISTORY IN THE SERVICE OF BLACK REVOLUTION

BY WALTER RODNEY

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THE INTERPRETER.....RAS DIZZY

WALTER RODNEY & CARIBBEAN MISRULE.....C.L.R. JAMES

NO MORE EURO BALL GAME.....FRANTZ FANON

HISTORICAL LETTERS

MARCUS GARVEY TO EDITOR OF DAILY GLEANER

W.A.DOMINGO TO AMY JACQUES GARVEY

GEORGE PADMORE TO AMY JACQUES GARVEY

MARCUS GARVEY & THE DAMNED.....BONGO RUPERT

GO AFRO.....BUNNY CUNNINGHAM

NOTE FROM A DIARY.....TIMMY CALLENDAR

"WHO YOU GONNA TURN TO".....BONGO PETER

POEMS: THE YOUTH..BONGO/ON LIBERTY..TIMMY CALLENDAR/

BLACK MOTHER..BONGO JERRY/LANGSTON HUGHES/ MEN OF IDEAS

ROGER MAIS/SILENT THUNDERSTORM..MARY MASON....